## Message Text

**SECRET** 

PAGE 01 STATE 311160 ORIGIN SS-25

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SECRETSTATE 311160

**EXDIS** 

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PDIP, US, VN, TH, EAID

SUBJECT: U.S. AND THAI RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM

REFS: (A) BANGKOK 36178; (B) STATE 304802

- 1. DEPARTMENT AGREES THAT EMBASSY SHOULD GIVE OWART FULLER APPRECIATION OF VIETNAMESE ATTITUDE TOWARD AID AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS AS PERCEIVED IN U.S.-SRV THIRD ROUND PARIS MEETING. FOLLOWING ARE TALKING POINTS YOU MAY USE IN ELABORATION OF REF B:
- -- COMPARED WITH MAY AND JUNE MEETINGS, VIETNAMESE POSITION ON SUPPOSED U.S. AID OBLIGATION WAS MUTED AND, IN OUR VIEW, INDICATED DELIBERATE SRV DECISION TO FOREGO HABITUAL POLEMICS IN FAVOR OF MORE PRAGMATIC APPROACH. THIS MODIFICATION WAS SIGNALLED IN HOLBROOKE'S OCTOBER 3 CONVERSATION WITH VICE FONMIN NGUYEN CO THACH AT UNGA AND WAS BASIS ON SECRET

**SECRET** 

PAGE 02 STATE 311160

WHICH WE DECIDED THAT THIRD ROUND MIGHT BE USEFUL.

-- PHAN HIEN MADE RITUAL REFERENCE TO SRV THREE-POINT OVER-ALL SOLUTION ADVANCED IN MAY/JUNE MEETINGS, OFFERED TO REPEAT IT, THEN MOVED ON TO DISCUSSION OF OTHER ASPECTS OF AID, E.G. US POSITION IN IFI'S (LONG AND YOUNG LETTERS) AND "EVIDENCE" OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION IN FAVOR OF FOOD AID TO VIETNAM (NEW YORK TIMES POLL).

- -- VIETNAMESE INTEREST IN GETTING TRADE EMBARGO LIFTED EMERGED STRONGLY DURING PLENARY AND INFORMAL TEA BREAK CONVERSATIONS. HIEN MADE PLAIN SRV IS MORE INTERESTED IN SUBSTANCE THAN FORM OF RELATIONSHIP WITH U.S., THOUGH LATTER IS TROUBLESOME AND STILL REQUIRES SATISFACTORY SOLUTION.
- -- MODIFIED SRV POSITION DOES NOT MEAN VIETNAMESE HAVE DROPPED VIEW THAT U.S. OWES THEM AID, BY WHATEVER NAME IT IS CALLED. THEY SEEM, HOWEVER, TO HAVE REALIZED FAC? OF LIFE THAT AID COMMITMENT PRIOR TO RELATIONS IS OUT OF THE QUESTION AND THAT IT IS WISER, GIVEN THEIR CURRENT SORRY ECONOMIC CONDITION, TO PLAY FOR BENEFITS WHICH LIFTING OF EMBARGO, TRADE WITH U.S., AND ACCESS TO US TECHNOLOGY (PARTICULARLY OFFSHORE OIL) WOULD BRING THEM.
- -- WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT VIETNAMESE WILL REVIVE AID DEMAND IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER. THEIR FRIENDS HERE ARE ALREADY AGITATING FOR HUMANITARIAN FOOD AID UNDER DISASTER RUBRIC (SEE EA/VLC STATUS REPORT NO. 4).
- -- WE CONCLUDE THAT VIETNAMESE ARE SHOWING INCREASED FLEXI-BILITY IN PURSUING GOAL OF MAXIMUM ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM SECRET

**SECRET** 

PAGE 03 STATE 311160

OTHER COUNTRIES. IN NEGOTIATING WITH U.S., "WAR REPARATIONS" WAS PREDICTABLE OPENING GAMBIT. THE SAME WOULD SEEM TO BE TRUE TO SOMEWHAT LESSER DEGREE FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THAILAND. WE THEREFORE AGREE WITH SENSE OF OWART'S ANALYSIS, AND BELIEVE LINKAGE IS IN KEEPING WITH VIETNAMESE NEGOTIATING PATTERN. MORE ACCURATE DESCRIPTION MIGHT BE TACTICAL SHIFT RATHER THAN "SOFTENING" OF VIETNAMESE POSITION.

- -- NEGOTIATIONS WITH U.S. AND THAILAND MIGHT BEST BE SEEN AGAINST BACKDROP OF RECENT BURGEONING VIETNAMESE DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA IN QUEST OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC TIES WITH COUNTRIES WHICH, THOUGH NOT FORMER FOES, HAVE BEEN DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS OF UNIFIED COMMUNIST VIETNAM. CLEARLY, VIETNAMESE RECOGNIZE BENEFITS OF DIVERSIFIED ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS AND ARE ADDRESSING PROBLEM IN TYPICALLY PRAGMATIC FASHION
- 2. DEPARTMENT CONCURS IN EMBASSY'S FORMULATION ON FORMER U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT (PARA 6, REF A).
- 3. IF MORE PRECISE QUESTIONS ON U.S.-SRV RELATIONS EMERGE FROM YOUR NEXT MEETING WITH OWART, WE WILL ATTEMPT PROVIDE

ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE. CHRISTOPHER

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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